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AN
ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE
DIRECTORS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
OF THE
SECOND MUNICIPALITY,
OF
NEW-ORLEANS,

On the 22d day of February, 1843.

BY THEODORE H. McCALEB,
Judge of the District Court of the United States, for Louisiana.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SECOND MUNICIPALITY.

NEW-ORLEANS:
PRINTED AT THE TROPIC OFFICE, NO. 44 ST. CHARLES STREET.
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RECORDER'S OFFICE,
SECOND MUNICIPALITY,
New-Orleans, March 2, 1843. }

Dear Sir:—In accordance with a resolution of the Council of Municipality No. Two, I have the honor to address you, and respectfully solicit, on its behalf, a copy of your Address delivered on the 22d February last, before the Public Schools, for publication.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. BALDWIN, RECORDER.

Hon. T. H. McCaleb, Present.

MARCH 3, 1843.

Dear Sir:—I have received your communication, soliciting on behalf of the Council of the Second Municipality, a copy of the Address I had the honor to deliver at the request of the Directors of Public Schools of said Municipality, on the 22d ultimo.

Although fully conscious how feebly the duty assigned to me was performed, I do not feel myself at liberty to decline a compliance with the request of the Council.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THEO. H. McCALEB.

Hon. JOSHUA BALDWIN,

Recorder of the Second Municipality of New-Orleans.

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ADDRESS.

I feel constrained, fellow-citizens, to offer you an apology for the feeble and imperfect manner, in which the important duty assigned to me by the Board of Directors of Public Schools of the Second Municipality, is about to be discharged. The subject which has convened us together, called for far more study and reflection than I have been able, under the pressure of official occupations, to bestow upon it. I have brought to the occasion little indeed beyond an ardent and anxious desire to witness the happy fulfilment of all our brilliant hopes, by the ultimate triumph of the great cause in which, as a community, we have embarked under auspices the most grateful and encouraging.

In selecting a suitable time for urging upon your indulgent consideration the merits of that cause, we have felt that no day could be more auspicious than one held sacred and set apart in our annals for the celebration of our national *Eleutheria*. We have deemed it peculiarly fit and proper on such a day to bring before our high national altars the children of our country, and under the approving smiles of parental devotion, to dedicate them to the service of that country. We have thought that for this purpose, no day could be more appropriate than the birth-day of WASHINGTON; and while joining in the customary manifestations of respect for his memory, we have felt that no topic could engage our attention more suitable to the occasion, than an enquiry into the means most efficient to promote the diffusion of that moral intelligence, upon which alone the noble institutions transmitted by our fathers for the enjoyment of their posterity can securely repose.

If there be anything in the progress of intellectual improvement in our country, tending above all other considerations to exalt the hopes and call forth the gratitude of the patriot and philanthropist, we cannot as *Louisianians*

—as AMERICANS, contemplate with indifference the interesting scene which is passing before us. It cannot be denied, but by those whose hearts are insensible to the lofty and generous emotions which an occasion like this is ever calculated to inspire, that a new era has commenced in Louisiana—that a most important revolution is about to be effected in her moral, intellectual and social condition.

The consequences of that revolution, if all experience can be regarded as a satisfactory guide in the formation of an opinion, are speedily to be seen and felt in every department of public employment, and in all the relations of private life; and it is truly gratifying to know that those who are more immediately engaged in effecting it, so far from permitting a doubt to mingle in the assurance they entertain of the final accomplishment of all its objects, are stimulated to a steady and unconquerable perseverance in the cause they have espoused, by the consciousness that it is the cause of religion, virtue and humanity. Many obstacles will doubtless intervene to impede their progress and postpone for a time the realization of their fond dreams and ardent expectations. As in the political so in the moral world, no important revolution was ever effected without the exercise of courage, zeal and energy on the part of its champions; and the benevolent gentlemen to whose meritorious exertions in the cause of education in the Second Municipality of New-Orleans, we have this day the most cogent reasons for expressing our warmest gratitude, expect not to escape the difficulties and trials which have ever beset the paths of their predecessors in undertakings of a like laudable character. They know that the clouds of prejudice must be dispelled; that inertness and indifference must be animated to a sense of moral responsibility; that the throne of pride “high and lifted up,” sustained by vulgar arrogance on the one hand, and by supercilious ignorance on the other, must be demolished, and the whole cohort of petty jealousies which surround it, dispersed and exterminated.

Much undoubtedly remains to be done, but enough has already been accomplished, to convince the most sceptical,

that the system of public instruction adopted by the Second Municipality of New-Orleans, is really the only system which can adequately meet the wishes of those who advocate a wide and general dissemination of knowledge. It is a system, too, which the short experience of one year has convinced us, contains within itself the elements of success. It is now no longer regarded in the light of an *experiment*; and truly that it should ever have been so regarded, seems strange and unaccountable indeed to those of us, who have so often witnessed the blessings it has long and bountifully diffused over the northern section of our union. It is a system which has existed among our brethren of New-England for almost a century. It has grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. It has indeed been the primary cause of that growth and strength, and has become as essential to the moral, as the very air they breathe is to the physical existence of that great and happy people.

Other northern and a portion of the western states have long since followed the bright example of New-England. In those states, however, constituting the middle and southern sections of the Union with perhaps one exception, the system has received no countenance or support. Many of their legislative bodies have, it is true, contributed munificently to the establishment of colleges and academies, in which are taught the higher branches of education. But little or no interest has been felt or exhibited in the promotion of primary schools, and *their* establishment and maintenance, have necessarily depended upon individual effort and private contribution. The advantages to be derived from such institutions are therefore circumscribed within narrow limits, and confined entirely to the children of parents whose pecuniary circumstances are such as to enable them to bring the means of instruction to their own doors. Thus the children of indigent parents are excluded from a participation in a blessing which should be as free for their enjoyment as the very atmosphere that surrounds them, or the light that beams upon them from heaven.

It becomes my pleasing duty then, to congratulate my fellow-citizens of the Second Municipality of New-Orleans

on the important fact, which cannot fail to excite emotions of pride and pleasure in the minds of all who are not insensible to the influence of local attachments and local sympathies. It has fallen to your lot, fellow-citizens, to set an example to the whole southern section of our confederacy, by being the first to engage in this greatest of all moral enterprises—the establishment of a permanent system of primary instruction. The beauty, utility and moral grandeur of this system, consist in the perfect equality with which it dispenses the means of education among the children of every class and condition. It disburses this invaluable treasure with a liberality uncontrolled by all those contracted considerations which take into view the *station in life* occupied by the parents of the innocent and immortal beings, who seek to become the recipients of its salutary and unalloyed bounty. It operates upon the principle of affording the greatest good to the greatest number, and with reference to that eternal and undeniable truth, that the cultivation of the mind should ever be regarded as an object of the first importance, as well in its effects upon individual as upon national character; for whether we consider it with reference to individuals or to nations, it must and will be acknowledged to be as vitally essential to the happiness of the one, as to the permanent prosperity and glory of the other. The system we advocate claims in a word as the ultimate consequence of its successful prosecution, the promotion of that great end of all free governments, for which the lives of patriotic statesmen have been spent in anxious toil, and about which the noisy and hypocritical demagogue is heard to thunder so loud and is known to care so little—*equality of rights, privileges and enjoyments among all mankind*. It is difficult indeed to imagine a system more catholic in its operations or more directly beneficial in its practical results in regulating the destinies of such a community as the one in which our fortunes have been happily cast; and it becomes our imperative duty to cherish and sustain it as the mightiest engine which human wisdom has ever devised for the eradication of vice and immorality, for the prevention of crime, and for the consequent elevation of

our moral and intellectual character. These considerations, fellow-citizens, which are palpable to the perceptions of every rational being, have already secured for the system a degree of confidence and favor in the public mind, which its strongest and most ardent advocates, could never have anticipated. To justify this confidence and favor, and to establish beyond all doubt or cavil, a preference for it over all other systems hitherto pursued, permit me to pay a passing glance at the history of education as we find it under the different systems adopted by the legislature within the last twenty-five years, for the immediate benefit of the city of New-Orleans.

On the 6th of March, 1819, an act was passed making appropriations for the support of the College of Orleans, a corporation which had been established some years before. By this act the regents of the University were authorised to raise a sum not exceeding twenty-five thousand dollars, by means of lotteries. An act approved February 16th, 1821, entitled an act to extend and improve the system of public instruction in the state of Louisiana, abolished the body politic created by law under the title of the "Regents of the University of Orleans," and provided for the formation of a board of administrators in lieu thereof, to consist of nine persons residing in this city, who were to be annually appointed by the Governor and Senate. Five of the persons composing the board were to form a quorum, and to exercise the same power, and to be subject to the same duties which had been conferred upon the regents of the University of Orleans, by the laws then existing in reference to that institution. The first meeting of the Board was to be convened by the Governor of the State; and the administrators, when assembled were to elect by ballot from among themselves, a president and vice president, who were to continue in office during the pleasure of the Board.

The general powers vested in the board were to determine the mode of education to be followed in the college—to alter the mode then established; to elect other professors or to confirm those then employed; and the professors so appointed or confirmed, were to continue in office during the pleasure of the administrators.

By the 11th section of the act, the sum of one thousand dollars in addition to the four thousand dollars appropriated under previous laws, was to be paid by the Treasurer of the State for the support of the College.

Under the provisions of this law the college was administered until the 18th of February, 1825, when another act was passed by the Legislature, entitled "An act to incorporate the College of Louisiana and for other purposes." By this law it was provided that the sum of five thousand dollars hitherto appropriated annually to the College of Orleans, should be appropriated for the establishment and maintenance of a college in the town of Jackson, in the parish of East Feliciana, and that the proportion of monies arising from the licensing of gambling houses in the city of New-Orleans, which had been previously appropriated to the College of Orleans, together with the sum of three thousand dollars out of the proportion of the fund arising from said licenses, previously appropriated for the benefit of the Charity Hospital, should remain as an annual appropriation for the support and maintenance of the College of Orleans, to be paid in the manner provided by laws then in being.

Subsequently the legislature passed another act abolishing entirely the corporation of the College of Orleans, and establishing one central and two primary schools in the city and suburbs. These schools were to be conducted under the superintendence of ten *regents*, who were constituted a body politic under the title of Regents of the Central and Primary Schools of New-Orleans, and in that capacity were to enjoy the right of perpetual succession, and all such other rights and privileges as were attached by law to other literary institutions of the state. To these regents was entrusted the power to prescribe the discipline to be observed in the schools, to organize the plan of education, and to make all necessary rules for their faithful administration. By this law *fifty* children chosen from among the poorer class, were to be admitted into each of the schools, free of charge, on their being presented to the director of the schools, either by their president or the mayor of the

city. None of the children to be admitted gratuitously, were to be under the age of seven, or above the age of fourteen years. By the act of 1827, the number of pupils entitled to gratuitous admittance into each of the schools, was not to exceed *one hundred*.

We have here, fellow-citizens, briefly presented to our view the various systems adopted by the representatives of the people for the promotion of the cause of education among us for the last twenty-five years. It is unnecessary for us to go into a strict enquiry to ascertain the causes of the failure of those systems to meet the wishes of the legislature. The fact of that failure may, however, be easily inferred from the instability of legislation as exhibited in the detail I have just given. And apart from our own personal knowledge and experience upon this subject, we think we can discern in the systems themselves those radical defects which would necessarily bring about their own dissolution. It is but justice to the legislature to remark, that it has at all times manifested a disposition to advance the interests of learning. It has on all occasions displayed a liberal and patriotic spirit. If its wishes and efforts have hitherto been disappointed, the disappointment will, we think, be found to have arisen from a mistaken policy. In regard to the College of Orleans, it may safely be affirmed that the act of locating it in a city such as this was at the time the institution existed, was in itself an injudicious proceeding. Youth is the season of temptation, and apart from the thousand inducements usually afforded by large and populous cities to the student, to abandon the silent and secluded abode of learning, and to seek the haunts of vice and dissipation, it seems to me that those inducements were augmented in a ten fold degree by the very legislative enactments to which the college was indebted for its existence. By the act of 1825, we find that the funds to be appropriated for its support, were to be derived not from the usual and legitimate sources of revenue, but from *licenses on gambling houses*;—houses which from their number and the scenes of depravity they so often presented, diffused a moral blight and desolation over our *now* quiet and happy

city. It was to such scenes the wayward and inexperienced youth was liable to be attracted. Deprived of parental care and solicitude, and forgetful of the monitory voice which had hitherto guided his innocent footsteps in the paths of virtue, he would soon become the unsuspecting victim of the machinations of the thousand midnight emissaries of these temples of iniquity. By them he would be led, like the lamb to the slaughter, to the presence of the high priest of infamy, ministering at his infernal shrine and evermore prepared with complacent smiles, amidst hellish orgies, to perform the unholy sacrifice.

That public gambling houses should be permitted to exist at all, would seem to be repugnant to all moral and religious sentiment; but that they should exist under the authority and with the encouragement of law, is as anomalous as it is revolting. That good may sometimes arise from evil, I can reasonably imagine; but that vice should be positively encouraged for the promotion of virtue, or that public immorality should be countenanced and favored by the authorities of government for the purpose of promoting a great moral end, are propositions as false in ethics as they are abominable in legislation. No parent feeling a due regard for the welfare of his child, would be inclined to release him from parental government, and send him for his education into a community, where the very worst of vices not only prevailed without check or control, but were absolutely protected and encouraged by the very legislative enactments which gave support to the institution, within whose walls he was expected not only to quaff at the fountain of learning, but to imbibe those pure and permanent principles of morality, which were to regulate his conduct in after life.

It may be safely affirmed, that the failure of the College of Orleans to meet the expectations of its projectors and patrons, was not attributable to the want of talent and learning to sustain and direct it. The literary and scientific qualifications of its president and professors, were universally known and acknowledged. For the satisfaction of the present audience, it is only necessary to mention the name of

him, who was called to the chair of its presidency during the three last years of its existence. The important duties of that responsible station were assigned to the Rev. THEODORE CLAPP—a gentleman long known and distinguished among us for his zealous and energetic devotion to his high and sacred calling, and for that rich and glowing eloquence, which has long been regarded as one of the brightest moral ornaments of our fair city. Even under *his* government the college seldom numbered more than *one hundred* students, and it was no doubt mainly upon *his* recommendation, that the location of such an institution was finally changed to Jackson, in the parish of East Feliciana, and a portion of the funds previously appropriated for its support directed into another channel.

We have seen that the same act of the Legislature which abolished the corporation of the College of Orleans, or rather transferred it under another name to another part of the State, called into existence the “Central and Primary Schools” of the city and suburbs.

Under the administration of the gentlemen composing the regency, those institutions were conducted with various success until the 16th of February, 1841. That they utterly failed to answer the expectations and wishes of the Legislature and of the friends of education in the city, may be easily inferred from the fact, that the average number of pupils in the school located in that portion of the city, now known as the Second Municipality, during the last seven or eight years, seldom exceeded *seventy-five* at any given period. That the system was radically defective, none will deny; and the most prominent defects under which it labored, arose doubtless from that odious provision of the law limiting the number of indigent children to be adjudged entitled to gratuitous admittance, and vesting in the president of the schools and the mayor of the city, the right to decide upon the claims of the applicants. The power so vested was doubtless exercised with justice and a due regard to the objects and purposes of the law; yet that invidious distinctions would be necessarily—nay unavoidably drawn, is evident from the very terms of the law itself.

To execute such a law, exceptions must be made in favor of the few over the many—exceptions alike repugnant to all our ideas of popular rights, and incompatible with the spirit of our institutions.

On the 16th of February, 1841, the Legislature enacted the law under which the system now in operation was established. By this enactment the subject of education, as hitherto regarded, is stripped of all extraneous and incongruous matter, and in the compass of three short sections, we have presented to the different Municipalities of New Orleans—each moving in its own jurisdictional sphere and upon its own responsibility—a plan of education, as simple in form as it is equitable in its operations. It is incumbent upon the Council of each Municipality “to enact such ordinances as may appear meet and proper for the organization, government and discipline of one or more public schools in each Municipality, for the gratuitous education of the children residing therein; to which public schools all resident white children shall be admitted for the purpose of education.” Power is also granted to the Councils to levy taxes for the support of the schools, and the Treasurer of the State is required to pay annually towards their support, to each Municipality, the sum of two dollars sixty-two and a half cents for each and every taxable inhabitant in said Municipalities, as paid by law to other parishes; said number of taxable inhabitants to be ascertained from the tax roll, or by the official return of the assessors, made previous to the annual payment. This payment is to be in lieu of any other appropriation made by law for the support of schools in the parish of Orleans; *provided* the aggregate amount paid yearly to the three municipalities shall not exceed seven thousand five hundred dollars.

The third section of the act provides “that each Council shall make a report annually to the Secretary of State, as superintendant of public education, of the disposition of the school fund, and communicate all other information respecting public education as contemplated by the act, which it may possess.”

With this law before them, the Council of the Second

Municipality promptly adopted the measures necessary to accomplish fully all the beneficent objects of the Legislature. An ordinance passed on the 23d of March, (a little more than a month after the passage of the act,) provides for the establishment of one public school for the gratuitous education of children, of either sex, in each of the wards of the Municipality. To these schools, *all children of proper age, of white resident parents*, are to be admitted. The male and female pupils are taught in separate apartments, and the grounds appropriated for their amusement during the hours of recreation are also separate. The only requisites for admission into the schools and for continuance therein, are good behavior, regular attendance, and a proper regard to personal cleanliness and neatness.

The ordinance also provides for the election, by the Council, on the second Tuesday of May in each year, of four citizens from each ward, who, with the standing committee of the Council on education, are to constitute the board of directors of public schools of this Municipality. To this board is committed the general superintendence of the schools. They are to select the teachers, and remove them at pleasure. They are to superintend the conduct of both teachers and scholars, direct the system and course of education to be adopted, and prescribe rules for the organization and discipline of all the schools, taking care that in all there shall be one uniform system. It is also made their duty, quarterly, to report to the Council the situation of the schools, the number of scholars, their progress, and all other information they may deem useful, and calculated to promote the cause of public education. They are, once a year, to furnish the Council with an estimate in detail of the expenses to be incurred for the ensuing year for the support of the schools, in order that the Council may appropriate such sums as may be deemed necessary. It is made the duty of the Comptroller of the Municipality, to open an account with the public schools, to the credit of which account are to be placed the sums received from the State, agreeably to the act approved February 16th, 1841.

I have thus, fellow citizens, gone somewhat into a detail of

the principal features of the system, for which we this day solicit your favorable consideration. If the detail be regarded as unnecessarily minute, I trust that an apology will be found in what I felt to be an imperative duty I owed to the Council of the Second Municipality, and to the public at large. It was due to the able and assiduous gentlemen who compose that Council, to present a fair and explicit statement of the wise and salutary measures they have devised for the purpose of carrying out fully the views of the Legislature, and of discharging faithfully and satisfactorily the momentous trust confided to them by their constituents. It was due to those constituents that they should be candidly informed, on this public occasion, of the ways and means resorted to by their representatives to secure a permanent and an equitable execution of a system, which more than any other that has or can ever elicit their serious attention, involves their real welfare as a moral and an intellectual people.

Having thus disposed of the principles of the system, permit me now to glance briefly at the happy results of its practical operations.

The Board of Directors, immediately after their regular organization, conceived the design of introducing as far as practicable into the liberal and enlightened plan devised by the Legislature and the council, the rules and regulations of the system of public schools, as it exists in the Northern States of the Union. To effect this, they opened a correspondence with the HON. HORACE MANN, Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, a gentleman long known and distinguished as the great apostle of universal education in the United States. Upon his recommendation, the board of directors lost no time in securing the services of the Hon. J. A. SHAW, of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. The energy and ability of *this* gentleman, need no comment from me. The sequel will amply demonstrate the indomitable resolution with which he met, and the fidelity with which he has discharged the duties of his important trust. He arrived in this city about the close of 1841, and immediately entered upon his duties as general

superintendent of all the schools conducted under the new system within the limits of the Second Municipality. He commenced with a school of only *twenty-six pupils of both sexes*. He was resolved, however, to see the system fairly tested. His exertions were warmly supported by the directors, and at the expiration of *one month* it was found that one hundred and eighty-seven boys and one hundred and thirty-two girls, making altogether *three hundred and nineteen pupils*, had been registered. This signal success within so short a period, was regarded as an encouragement to greater exertion; and now, after the expiration of *one year*, it is with no small degree of pride and pleasure, that the directors and the superintendant can inform the public, that the number of pupils now in regular attendance at the various schools of the Municipality amounts to about *one thousand*, and the register contains the names of fifteen hundred and fifty, who belong to, and who have participated in the advantages afforded by the schools.

So far as relates to the primary and intermediate schools, we may now consider them in successful operation, and rapidly fulfilling all the purposes of their establishment. But there is another part of the system, which has not yet been brought directly into view. It is the design of the directors at a proper time, to establish a *high school* for instruction in classical studies, and thus afford, by regular graduation, all the advantages that may be deemed necessary to fit our youth for the ordinary occupations of life, or prepare them for entrance into colleges and other higher seminaries of learning.

Upon the important and interesting facts I have presented, I leave you, fellow citizens, to your own comments and to your own reflections. I regard their simple recital as far the most eloquent appeal that can be made, in vindication of the great cause we have espoused. Much, you will admit, has already been performed; but much more, you will acknowledge, is yet to be accomplished, when you are told that according to the most accurate computation, there are in the Second Municipality alone, about two thousand children over and above the number now actually attending

these and the private schools, of an age sufficiently advanced to receive the benefits of education, who are growing up in idleness and ignorance. To extend to *them* also the blessings of education, and thus open to them the avenues to virtue, happiness and future usefulness, is an object that will continue to engross the attention of the Council of this Municipality. To enable it speedily to *accomplish* this object, it needs and will doubtless receive the cordial and zealous co-operation of every sincere friend of humanity, and of every ardent lover of his country.

I have thus far refrained from any allusion to the course pursued by the other Municipalities, under the act of the Legislature establishing the new system, because my means of accurate information have been limited, and because I stand here as the organ of the Second Municipality alone. In the First Municipality little or nothing, as we are informed, has been accomplished. In the Third Municipality, active and zealous efforts have been made; and although the number of pupils in the schools falls far short of that in the schools of this Municipality, yet from the known fidelity and energy of the gentleman who is performing the duties of superintendant, and who has been long favorably known among us as an instructor of youth, we have every reason to anticipate the most happy results.

And now let us, fellow citizens, ardently hope that in the prosecution of this important work, there may at all times be found a concurrence of sentiment and an unity of action throughout our great and growing city, and that the fruits of the great "seminal principle" here sown and cherished, may be realized and enjoyed in every village and every cottage of Louisiana;—yea, that the whole South, yielding to the influence of our own bright example, may soon cause the pure and limpid waters of social existence, which shall bountifully flow from the system we this day advocate, to roll back upon their great Northern source, until our whole happy UNION, mingling in one mighty and magnificent stream of emigration Westward, shall pour forth a perennial flood of moral intelligence, with all its concomitant blessings, upon our boundless and untrodden wilds!

In contemplating the inevitable destinies of our great Confederacy, it strikes the mind of the serious observer as strange and unaccountable indeed, that one dissenting voice should be raised against the efforts now made to carry on to a glorious consummation the weighty enterprize in which we are engaged. It cannot be that any sincere disciple of Christianity—any devoted friend of social order, can withhold from the cause his zealous co-operation. If ever there were a cause in which all classes and denominations might consistently and harmoniously unite, it is surely *this*.—Here schisms may be healed; here sects may lay aside their peculiar tenets; here the followers of ARIUS and ATHANASIUS, of LUTHER and LOYOLA, may throw down the weapons of malignant warfare, and putting on the burnished armor of truth and righteousness, as loved by all and worshipped by all, join in a common crusade against ignorance and error, and open the way for the dissemination of the principles of the pure religion of the meek and lowly JESUS; here, may the champions of contending parties declare a political armistice, and mingling in mutual amity on neutral ground, deliberate in harmony on the surest means of attaining to the highest ends of civil government; here then, like the Elians of old to the beligerent states of Greece, we proclaim to them one and all, a long and a happy *Eucheria*, and bid them welcome to the peaceful groves of our moral Olympia!

On this great and all-engrossing subject, I assume the broad position that it is the imperative duty of Louisiana to educate her own children—to carry the means of instruction to the very door of every cottage within her borders, and to present the rich and invaluable treasure, “without money and without price,” to the acceptance of every free white child who may demand it. Let me however not be misunderstood. I do not assume this position because I concur in the contracted sentiments of those, who advocate the cause of education in the *South*, because forsooth they are alarmed at the probable tendency of a *Northern* education to alienate the affections of our youth from the soil of their birth. I hold such sentiments in

contempt and abhorrence, as hostile in principle to our Federal Union, and as wholly unworthy of any liberal and enlightened American citizen. Local attachments and local sympathies will doubtless every where be felt; but the time has arrived, fellow-citizens, when every youth in our country must be taught as his first lesson, that the soil of our vast and glorious UNION, is the soil of his birth;—that wherever throughout its wide and magnificent domain he may wander,—whether he muse amid the thunders of Niagara—by the peaceful flow of the silent Merrimack—amid the awful and sublime solitudes of the cloud-capped Alleghenies, or on the banks of the turbid Mississippi, he is to feel that he still stands on *his own—his native land*;—the land for which his bosom may swell with patriotic pride and devotion—the land he is to love in the hour of peace—the land he is to defend in the hour of battle. Is there *one* among the thousand sons of old Harvard, of Yale, of Nassau Hall and other venerable Northern seats of learning, who will express *his* concurrence in the miserable sentiments to which I have alluded? Is there *one*, who can revert to the benefits he enjoyed within the time honored walls of his revered Alma Mater, and say, that he there imbibed one principle which lessened for a moment his affection for the spot of his nativity, or his attachment for our glorious UNION?

I say then that it is the duty of Louisiana, to establish a system of general education for the benefit of her own children, because it is a subject which should above all others elicit the attention of her legislators—because it is the noblest object to which her resources can be directed—and because, as a corollary to these propositions, the prosperity and happiness of each State, and the permanency of the UNION are secured and strengthened in proportion to the liberality with which intelligence is diffused throughout the land. The time has arrived we trust, when enlightened legislation will on all occasions bestow upon the subject that favorable consideration which its paramount importance demands. The time has arrived when candidates for political distinction will make it the theme of their constant and

solemn meditation, as presenting to the mind the surest means of ultimately promoting the popular weal. The time has arrived when they will learn that the fervid eloquence they so often display upon the ordinary topics which call forth the virulence of *party*, may indeed entitle them to the appellation of *politicians*; but that higher and nobler themes must occupy their minds before they can assert their claims to the exalted character of STATESMEN. The time has arrived when they will learn that it is not by following in the path of the *demagogue*, who rests his hopes of political aggrandizement upon popular *ignorance*, but by moving in the elevated sphere of enlightened patriotism alone, that popular favor is to be sought and won. The time has arrived when they will aspire to imitate the bright example of HIM, who has for more than a quarter of a century, blazed forth the most brilliant representative of the intellect of England, and proved himself the matchless champion of all measures tending to promote the two great objects, which constitute the *gemini* in the political zodiac of the real statesman—POPULAR LIBERTY and POPULAR EDUCATION. I allude, of course, to that distinguished patriot, philanthropist and philosopher, LORD BROUGHAM. In 1816, he commenced his career in the cause of educational reform as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to examine into the abuse of charities. In that capacity it became his duty to pry into and expose the corruption that prevailed to an alarming extent in the Colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, Eaton, Winchester and other ancient seats of learning. The consummate ability and moral courage with which his duty was performed, is known to all who have watched with interest his comet-like course. The task was accomplished amid the doleful lamentations that arose from the pensioned recipients of the bounty that flowed from eleemosynary endowments—amid the taunts and imprecations of the proud and superstitious worshippers of antiquated forms and usages—amid the anathemas of opinionated devotees, who ever stand aghast at the cry for innovation, though that cry should also herald the rise of the beautiful and majestic fabric of

TRUTH on the moss-grown ruins of ERROR,—devotees, with whom corruption itself is venerable because of its antiquity. Even a mercenary press was pensioned to crush this extraordinary man. Popular indignation, too, thundered resistance to a falsely supposed invasion of chartered immunities,—popular indignation thundered in vain. The dauntless champion of Truth paused not in his bold career. Sustained by the rectitude of his intentions—animated by the courage which has urged on to victory the noble army of patriots in all ages, and fired by the zeal which glows in the breast of the Apostle of Liberty in the hour of martyrdom, he calmly met the terrors of the conflict and gloriously triumphed—

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium.

Non vultus instantis tyranni

Mente quatit solida, *

* * * * *

* * * * *

Si fractus illabatur orbis

Impavidum ferient ruinae.

Then followed his untiring exertions in the cause of general education. The establishment of Primary Schools, has through his agency been rendered an object of absorbing interest among all classes. At the touch of his miraculous wand, streams of knowledge are soon to gush forth at the door of every cottage in the United Kingdom. Fifteen years ago, he proclaimed to the minions of legitimacy throughout the world, that "*the Schoolmaster was abroad!*" and whether we see him travelling from hamlet to hamlet, from cottage to cottage, exciting in the minds of the indigent and ignorant an ambition for learning ;—whether we hear him as Rector of the University of Glasgow, delivering with all the enthusiasm of a kindred spirit an elaborate criticism on the Orations of Demosthenes,—or lecturing in language adapted to the comprehension of the humblest intellect upon discoveries in modern science before the Mechanics of Manchester,—or thundering before the House of Lords to rouse up to a sense of moral responsibility, the pampered aristocracy of England,—he still ap-

pears to us the indefatigable advocate of universal education, proclaiming the march of the great army of Schoolmasters, while he *himself* moves proudly in the van, *the noblest Schoolmaster of them all!* Such, Republican Legislators of Louisiana, is the bright example of a Peer of England. Go and emulate that bright example,—go and do for the noble State, whose sovereignty you represent, what *he* has achieved and is still achieving against obstacles, which *you* will never be called upon to surmount, for the rising generations of the British Isles, and for the millions over whom those Isles are destined to extend their dominion.

But whatever may be the policy which Louisiana as a State may adopt in connection with this great topic, the City of New Orleans will, I feel assured, suffer no obstacle to impede her onward course—to arrest the progress of the glowing car which is soon to bear her to victory on this the beautiful *stadium* we have consecrated to this great moral contest. In this contest she is to win the Olympic chaplet of sacred olive to adorn her brow in the moment of intellectual triumph—a chaplet to add dignity to the happiness and independence she is yet to enjoy in that hour of commercial prosperity which is soon to return.

Yes, fellow citizens, she is destined soon to witness the dawn of a brighter day. The period of her tribulation and sorrow will soon have passed. The clouds of adversity may throw their dark shadows over her rising hopes; the energies of her merchants may be paralyzed, while the canvass of commerce folds its wings like a sleeping swan in the waters of her noble *Piræus*. She may mourn over her baffled expectations, while the implements of honest industry brighten in vain in the fields of wonted promise. But soon will the wants of other lands call aloud for the rich productions of the soil, which from the great valley of the West as from the bountiful horn of Amalthaea, forever pours its treasures into her lap. The breezes of prosperity will once more ruffle the white plumage on her thousand masts upon the tide of her majestic Mississippi, as through the main artery of her great System, the life-blood of commercial existence is borne with healthful activity from a

heart forever throbbing with generous sympathy and noble emulation. Like the Antaeus of ancient fable—the gigantic offspring of the Ocean and the Land—she will rise with renewed and redoubled vigor under the Herculean pressure of adversity which is bearing her to earth.

It is for us then, fellow citizens, to see that her moral power keeps pace with her commercial prosperity. It is for us, while the world stands tributary to her physical necessities, to keep alive with vestal vigilance a burning zeal for the cultivation of those pursuits, which alone can exalt the mind and add lustre to the virtues which adorn our social existence.—Such is our duty as citizens of this our Southern Emporium, the extent of whose mighty agency and influence in fulfilling the destinies of our great Republic, neither you nor I can foretell. Such, more especially, is our duty as citizens of that Republic; on whose rise and progress, as the brightest spectacle of moral sublimity it has ever been called to witness—the civilized world has fixed its gaze of admiration and of awe. It is only by a faithful discharge of this obligation that the devoted children of that Republic may hope to behold her fulfil the glowing predictions of the prophets of freedom, by becoming the theatre for the performance of the *fifth* ‘grand act’ in the drama of human affairs, and proving herself “the noblest offspring of time.” It is only by a faithful discharge of this obligation, that they may hope to see her realize that “august conception” of a late English poet,* by “presenting to the world a hundred millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of ALFRED, and speaking the language of SHAKSPEARE and MILTON.” That this august conception *will* be realized at no very distant day, is no longer to be regarded in the light of a moral or political problem;—if it be, it is a problem that will be solved to the wonder and admiration of the world, even while that world is deliberating on the process by which the solution is to be effected. In the lofty strains of one whose name has been associated with this

* Coleridge.

brilliant and happy consummation of our country's hopes of future grandeur, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle nursing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam—purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance." *

Let us then fellow citizens, with the *language* of MILTON, send to the remotest bounds of this vast Continent, the *principles of Liberty* that glowed in his undaunted soul. And while on this *great day* we renew to each other the pledge of fidelity to the common cause, let us confidently trust that AMERICA, with the name and virtues of her WASHINGTON, engraven forever on her grateful memory, may hold on her high and radiant career, and prove a burning and a shining light to the nations wandering in the gloom of moral and political despotism;—that she may in the plenitude of the power and glory which await her, become the Pythoness on the tripod of the Delphos of the World, to deliver the eternal oracles of civil and religious Liberty to all mankind.

* Milton's Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.





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